

*Jasp Maudslayi*

# POLITICAL LOGIC

DISPLAYED:

Or, a KEY to the

## THOUGHTS

ON

## CIVIL LIBERTY,

## Licentiousness and Faction.

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*What makes all Doctrines plain and clear?*

*About two hundred Pounds a Year.*

*And that which was prov'd true before,*

*Prove false again? — Two hundred more.*

HUDIBRAS.

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L O N D O N:

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POLITICAL LOGIC

DICTIONARY

OF THE

U. S. A. C. H. S.

**ERRATA in the following Sheets.**

For Page 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56. read Page 25, 26, 27; 28, 29, 30, 31, 32.—in Page 55, for *Obstinacy* read *Obstinacy*.—Page 38, in the last line, for *Mash-Tub* read *Mash Tub*.



(Lately publish'd, by the Author of this Pamphlet)  
Printed in Quarto,

T H E  
Q U A C K:  
AN EMPIRICAL ESSAY.

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*Fervet avaritia, miseraq; cupidine pectus?  
Sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem  
Possis, et magnam morbi deponere partem.  
Laudis amore tumes? sunt certa piacula quæ te  
Ter purè lecto poterint recreare libello.  
Invidus, iracundus, iners, vinosus, amator,  
Nemo adeo ferus est ut non mitescere possit;  
Si modò culturæ patientem accommodet aurem.*

HORACE.

Say, does thy blood rebel, thy bosom move  
With wretched avarice, or as wretched love?  
Know there are words and spells, which can controul,  
Between the fits this fever of the soul:  
Know there are rhimes, which, fresh and fresh apply'd,  
Will cure the arrant'st puppy of his pride.  
Be furious, envious, slothful, mad, or drunk,  
Slave to a wife, or vassal to a punk,  
A Switz, a High-Dutch, or a Low-Dutch bear,  
All that we ask is but a patient ear.

POPE'S Imitations.

[illegible]

BY APPOINTMENT, ROBERT L. M.D.

And I think it is the duty of the Academy to do so.

The first of these is the fact that the  
 second of these is the fact that the  
 third of these is the fact that the  
 fourth of these is the fact that the  
 fifth of these is the fact that the  
 sixth of these is the fact that the  
 seventh of these is the fact that the  
 eighth of these is the fact that the  
 ninth of these is the fact that the  
 tenth of these is the fact that the

TO THE  
REVEREND DR. B\*\*\*\*.

O Thou, whose works with *varied* lustre shine,  
Effayist, Critic, Fidler, Bard, Divine,  
See to thy shrine a zealous vot'ry run,  
Taught by *thyself* to court the rising sun.  
No *dead* immortal then employs my toil,  
An old, worn out, unprofitable foil.  
On living brows we wiser plant the bays,  
Whilst thou the *Fav'rite*, I the *Bishop* praise,  
Nor frown indignant, if with *KEY* profane  
The *dark* recesses of thy *sacred* brain  
I strive to open, since 'tis but to shew  
From thy *quaint* Thoughts what mighty uses flow.  
So the wrought chest in some room's private part  
Seems only fixt to speak the workman's art :  
But, when unlock'd, the fragrant scents disclose  
Its rich contents to each by-stander's nose.  
Yet have I not, like modern Auctioneers,  
Increas'd thy cabinet with spurious wares :  
Thyself shalt witness that they're all thy own,  
*The genuine true effects* of Dr. BROWN.

Nor ask to greet thee why the *Muse* I send ;  
To rival *Cburchill's* fame I ne'er pretend :

But

But how, unless, like thee, I knew to soar  
 In creeping *prose* to heights unknown before  
 With flight *poetic*, (tho' this Essay shews,  
 I can like thee turn poetry to prose)  
 How could I speak such complicated worth!  
 Besides, the pow'r, that ruling at thy birth,  
 Made *thee* all things, and last a *Statesman* made,  
 Urg'd *me* to dabble in the poet's trade.  
 'Twas Interest, this world's God, whom all adore,  
 But no one e'er than thee adored him more.  
 Not *Butler's* Knight for *logic* fam'd; for he,  
 With all his quirks, was but a type of thee.  
 Nor blush that a *republican* I name:  
*Scoundrels* of ev'ry party are the same.  
 And all the difference 'twixt brave Vaux and thee,  
 Is that one 'scapes, one loads the triple tree.

THOUGH these, renown in ev'ry age shall gain,  
 Thy height of glory they can ne'er attain.  
 Thou, who hast still'd the hissing people's noise,  
 And made it *listen to the charmer's voice*;  
 Thou, who (like fabled *Hercules* of old  
 With pen for Club) than *Hercules* more bold,  
 The many headed monster hast subdued,  
 And quell'd proud Faction with her cursed brood,\*  
 Shalt live; and me, thine *Jolauts*, transmit  
 To fame, who held the candle to thy wit.

\* See page 2d of the THOUGHTS.



Or when, by some *cogenial* poet sung  
 A second *Faustus* thee each minstrels tongue,  
 A second *Faustus* thee the list'ning croud  
 Shall hoarse re-echoe ; and in notes as loud  
 Proclaim, how taking up the conj'rer's trade,  
 The sprite thy *fancy* rais'd, thy magic laid ;  
 How by the godlike love of gain possést,  
 Thy *plumy* wand (like that of Novelist)  
 Drove from their holds the bold *licentious* train \*  
 Whose only *source* was thy prolific brain :  
 Then shall my name with thine in concert chime,  
 And grow immortal in the gingling rhyme.  
 Or pourtray'd underneath the deathless page  
 My humble form may some regard engage ;  
 Whilst thou in *sacerdotal* pomp shalt sit  
 Thron'd on the top, (the pinnacle of wit)  
 Conning with ceaseless progress retrograde  
 The codes, where Freedom's banners are display'd, }  
 In *magic* circle all around thee laid.

THESE vast rewards shall future times prepare,  
 Yet shall thy merit present honours share.  
 For lo! the *Crozier* waits thy guiding hand ;  
 And soon the time shall come, when o'er this land  
 (Whose self-created *Censor* thou alone  
 In *Principles* and *Manners* long hast shone)  
 Thy pow'r *inquisitorial* shall extend,  
 And to thy frown its stubborn youth shall bend.

\* See page 2d of the THOUGHTS.

For though from faithless *Portugal* it flies ;  
 The glorious Inquisition here shall rise ;  
 And with its dreadful pomp delight our wond'ring  
 eyes. }

NOR does the *Mitre* sole thy pains requite,  
 Though some may think it over-pays thy *mite*.  
 A grateful people has upheld thy fame,  
 And made a nine days wonder of thy name ;  
 While with delight the K— himself we see  
 A *commentator* turn to pleasure thee :  
 And I (so much I for thy honour feel)  
 Have labour'd for thee with redoubled zeal ;  
 As *Shaftesbury* commented (wicked wit)  
 On *Cato's Letters*, long ere they were writ ;  
 So in this Tract each curious eye may see  
 A *double comment* on thy works and thee.  
 And while thy *POLITICS* are here explain'd,  
 Thy *Christian Principles* are ascertained.  
 For sure it needs no Scotsman's *second sight*,  
 To see that our great *Thane* is thy delight.  
 That he, whilst he maintains the sov'reign pow'r,  
 Is *Christian Legislator* ; nay, and more  
 Than the Jews *Saviour Moses* was before. }

\* See page the last of the THOUGHTS.

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THE  
DESIGN;  
COMMONLY CALLED,  
THE INTRODUCTION.

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S E C T. I.

**I**F we carefully consult antient and modern history, or attend to the writings of moralists and politicians ever since the creation; we shall find, that *there are two causes, by which a free state, and (as some pretend) even a despotic government, may perish.* The one is called, *external violence, invasions from abroad, and the rage of foreign war*; the other, *internal violence, dissensions at home, and domestic faction.* And these two, *though often interwoven, it is equally certain from the same authorities, are essentially distinct and different from each other.*

*After a dangerous and exhausting war, the prudence of the ministry hath at length restored peace to our bleeding country. But in vain the sword of war is sheathed, if in time of peace the razor of licentiousness and the scissors of faction are drawn, and madly lifted by many of our countrymen to the throats of their friends and allies and the tails of their fellow-subjects.*

B

Happily



Happily for this nation an exorcist hath arisen, who hath generously undertaken to lay *this deluded, or deluding spirit*; (for which of these qualities it possesseth, or whether both, or neither, surpasseth even his skill to determine.) Nevertheless when we consider, that he is the same person, whose powerful spells have heretofore so successfully banished \* reason from religion, † precision from criticism, and enthusiasm from ‡ poetry; we cannot in the least doubt of his abilities to perform this more than Herculean enterprise. For this purpose, he hath accurately traced, after his usual manner, *the present state of things to its general foundations*: By pointing out (what was never observed before) *the real basis and genuine characteristics of true Liberty*; by unmasking the pretences of these rebellious tonsors; and laying open the secret lurking places and distinctive marks of this double *spirit of licentiousness and faction*; which (like its kindred ghost in Cock-lane, applying more to the evidence of the ears, than of the other senses) if it were not for the extraordinary pains of some public-spirited gentlemen, vigorously sustained and enforced by this laborious performance, might probably be taken for a mere phantom imposed on the public by a set of jugglers, with a design to divert its attention

\* Essay on the Characteristics.  
Poetry and Music. † Cure of Saul.

‡ Dissertation on

from



from the solid and substantial strokes of LIBERTY and PATRIOTISM.

Now as the interests of this mischievous spirit are strenuously supported by another of great power and influence, called *the spirit of the times* \*, which even this illustrious Conjuror seems fearful of offending, he hath prudently enveloped his charms in the transparent clouds of allegory, which some short-sighted mortals have foolishly mistaken for the impenetrable mists of inconsistency, arising from the stagnant lake of dulness, and the muddy streams of corruption.

To remove these obstacles, and set his inestimable labours in their true light, is the purpose of this undertaking; which it is presumed will meet with his approbation; as he must doubtless by this time be perfectly convinced by his own experience, that his precautions were wholly unnecessary with regard to the spirit of the times; which so far from retaining the vigour and activity it lately manifested in so eminent a degree, is now reduced low enough to bear tamely with any insults he may be disposed to offer. But that I may not unwittingly fall into that obscurity, which my Author for wise ends hath affected to use; it is highly necessary to drop the allegoric veil, I had assumed in humble imitation of him; and proceed in plainer terms to acquaint my Readers with the design of the following commentary.

\* Vide page 152 of the Thoughts.

This is not only, as abovementioned, to elucidate his obscurities, but also to point out those beauties of thought and expression, which are so peculiar to him ; and have justly gained him the authority and reputation of a classic. At the same time, I must beg leave to premise, that as the Author, I have here undertaken to illustrate, has pursued a plan intirely different from any other writer of classic or unclassic fame in the disposition of his Work (which is so artificially contrived, that the Reader may peruse it with equal profit and delight, either proceeding in the vulgar method from beginning to end ; or in the more ingenious and fashionable way from the middle to either end ; or, if he be an Hebrew, in a retrograde progression from the end to the beginning ; or lastly, which I would rather recommend, as perfectly sympathetic with the state of the Author's imagination, by turning the book topsyturvy, after the manner of the learned Japanese) I have not neglected so fair an opportunity of relieving my Readers from the perplexity, occasioned by perpetual references and quotations ; or the tedious impertinence of voluminous notes, though written in the much admired, and consequently much imitated stile of Scriblerus : but (greatly to the diminution of my own importance, which by these means might have swelled to the dignity of a full sized volume) have inserted, or rather, to use a more classical phrase, have

have *interwoven* my own sentiments with those of my Author, so as to form one continued Piece. However, that his reputation might in no wise suffer from this my presumption, I have taken particular care to distinguish, in a manner visible to every one, my coarse stuff from the silken produce of his brain; tho' to connoisseurs this difference is of itself sufficiently apparent; and, as it is usual for Authors to point out to their Readers the witty passages in their writings by the help of Italics, I have scrupulously adhered to this laudable custom: insomuch that, being thoroughly sensible, that the following sheets have no merit to boast of, but what is borrowed from the Work they are intended to explain; I have attributed each individual sentence, phrase, and expression to its right owner, by constantly printing it in that character.

As to the public, *the political principles here laid down and enforced*, being the result of the serious THOUGHTS of a dignified ecclesiastic, and consequently *strictly connected with religion and morals*; it is needless to make any apology for endeavouring to assist in establishing the public happiness of mankind on the solid basis of virtue, namely the virtue of passive obedience \*, *which has often been made the end of*

\* To obviate any censures that may fall upon me for misapplying the words of my Author by a false interpretation, I beg leave to recommend to the Reader's consideration



of religion itself.—In this point the writer of those Thoughts hath confirmed himself on the authority of an eminent Tory Divine, whose political researches were of like tendency; and his commentator humbly begs leave farther to strengthen this authority, by the example and motto of an eminent J-c-b-te lawyer, whose practice hath ever been exactly consonant to the pretensions contained therein;

*Uni æquus VIRTUTI, atque ejus amicis.*

According to the true spirit of which, it is to be hoped for the good of this nation, that he always will

For NON-RESISTANCE partially contend,  
And to her friends alone still prove a trusty friend.

deration the following remark of an ingenious writer: “ That all nations have given the general title of virtue by way of eminence to that particular one, by which they themselves were most distinguished. Thus, among the ancient Romans, Valour was honoured by the name of *Virtus*, and the modern Italians, their degenerate descendants, in order to dignify their taste for trifles have bestowed on it the appellation of *Virtù*.” But this observation may at least with equal justice be applied to individuals; and the Doctor’s tenets of passive obedience are not only to be seen in this treatise and other of his writings, but throughout his whole conduct. If then, it be true, that an Author should be made, if possible, his own commentator; I think, it cannot be disputed, that I have given the true and genuine meaning of this passage, and for the same reason a faithful translation of the subsequent motto.

## S E C T. II.

*Of the Nature of Civil Liberty.*

**T**O the superficial and ignorant it will doubtless appear a superfluous labour, to fix the true idea of Civil Liberty in a country which boasts itself free.

Yet the writer esteems it a necessary task: Not only that he may appeal to his own idea of it thus established, but also because in the conduct (at least) if not in the writings of his countrymen, it hath evidently of late been utterly mistaken.

The natural Liberty of man consists in living in a brutal state of nature, that is, in a state contrary to nature. Therefore such a state is strictly unnatural; and consequently the natural liberty of man is unnatural, Q. E. D.

Now Civil Liberty is derived from restraint. Every natural desire, which might in any respect be inconsistent with the general weal, is given up as a voluntary tax paid for the more important benefits which we reap from social life.

Hence appears the expediency and justice of the Excise upon Cyder, by the vast quantities of which liquor yearly consumed in this island, (as it was an obstacle to the importation of foreign wines) not only his Majesty's customs have been defrauded of a great revenue, but (what is still worse) the harmony of  
the

the correspondence subsisting between our neighbours and us, is much interrupted ; which plainly shews, “ this natural desire to be extremely prejudicial to the general weal.” If this then was not a “ voluntary tax,” it reflects the more disgrace upon this nation ; since common gratitude might have taught us, to give up with pleasure so trifling a gratification to the inclinations of a minister, by whose timely interposition we still enjoy the supreme blessing of drinking in peace, the pure and wholesome waters of our own rivers, unstained with the blood of our countrymen.

But when we were indulged with the Liberty of satisfying this “ natural desire” on payment of an inconsiderable tax, it was surely the height of ingratitude to murmur at the imposition, or at the slight inconveniencies occasioned by submitting the oeconomy of our houses and families to the caprice of the collectors ; and no other excuse can be alledged to palliate the insolence of such a procedure, but a shameful ignorance of this fundamental point. “ That Civil Liberty is derived from restraint.”

### S E C T. III.

#### *Of Licentiousness and Faction.*

*FROM the caricature of Civil Liberty thus delineated, the idea of Licentiousness will easily be fixed ; we shall therefore spare our*  
Readers



Readers the trouble of consulting their Dictionaries for this article, by presenting them with a more concise and elegant description, than they will meet with there, of this atrocious spirit.

*Licentiousness is an unlimited indulgence of appetite in the social state.*

By this definition alone the Cyder-Counties stand evidently convicted of Licentiousness; as they have unwarrantably endeavoured to "indulge their appetites," *which in the social state there is a necessity of curbing and fixing*: a maxim which the abstemious inhabitants of North Britain are well apprized of, and always (in their own country) strictly adhere to.

*But Licentiousness when its immediate object is that of thwarting the ends of Civil Liberty, is distinguished by the name of faction.*

And from this charge the Patriotic Society in Albemarle-street will find it somewhat difficult to clear themselves; since it cannot be denied, that they have "indulged their appetites at an unlimited expence in a social state" (or a state of association) with each other. It is likewise equally incontestable, that these meetings were instituted "to thwart the ends of Civil Liberty," which was then dawning upon us under the influence of the Administration.

## S E C T. IV.

*Unassisted Laws no permanent foundation of Civil Liberty.*

**T**H E S E remarks (though not very obvious) are clear to every man possessed of an uncommon understanding; or (which has the same effect) whose understanding is hoodwinked by the blinds of interest. Let us now consider, what are the permanent foundations of Civil Liberty. That is, in other words, What are the effectual ways, means and methods, by which every limb and member of society may be uniformly swayed, impelled, or induced, to give up and sacrifice his private desires or appetites to the Good, Benefit, and Welfare of the Public. This subject deserves this particular elucidation, because in our own country and our own times, it hath been much and dangerously mistaken.

Certain Writers have artfully or weakly suggested: that the magistrate hath no concern with the private opinions or operations of the mind, and that actions alone fall under the cognizance of those in power.

The Author of the Fable of the Bees boldly lays down this maxim, and is shallow enough to assert that pillories, jails and gibbets are sufficient means for the prevention of such crimes as would endanger the grandeur and stability of the state.

Besides

Besides this Conjuror there is another, a very imprudent (because a sincere) friend of Liberty, who speaks in the following simple stile; which though not designed to impress this principle, may at least be interpreted into it. "It is foolish to say that government is concerned to meddle with the private thoughts and actions of men, while they injure neither the society, nor any of its members. Government being intended to protect men from the injuries of one another, and not to direct them in their own affairs; it is plain that such busy care and officious intrusion into the personal affairs, or private actions, thoughts and imaginations of men has in it more craft than kindness. — True and impartial Liberty is therefore the right of every man to pursue the natural, reasonable and religious dictates of his own mind: to think what he will, and act as he thinks, provided he act not to the prejudice of another."

These expressions are crude, inaccurate, and so unambiguous, that they leave the thoughtful reader at a loss how to pervert such a precise and determined meaning. But as nothing of this kind can be deemed impossible to one, who has exercised his torcular skill with such success \* upon Aristotle and other ancient Authors, we shall with greater confidence begin the attack upon a mere modern.

\* Dissertation on the Rise and Progress of Poetry and Music.



*First then, they may possibly imply, that the magistrate hath no right to violate the laws of religious toleration; but that every man hath a right to worship GOD according to the dictates of his own conscience. In this sense they are rational and true, and this truth the writer hath more than once confirmed with his verdict \*.*

*But secondly, they may imply, that thoughts, speculations, opinions and principles have no connection with a man's actions; at most none so strong as to give the magistrate a right to regulate them by any means whatever, who is only concerned to regulate his actions; and therefore no direction is to be given either to the grown or infant mind.*

*This is not only a possible interpretation, but according to the appearance we have given it, the more natural of the two. For this Author has not once touched upon our doctrine of the necessary influence of opinions upon actions: it is true he speaks of these opinions as being reasonable and religious; but if they be the mere result of private thought, unaided by the regulations of civil policy, I see not why we may not as well call them unreasonable and irreligious. And farther this is certain, that this principle has generally been adopted by Freethinkers: which sufficiently demonstrates, that all those who in general have adopted this principle, are Freethinkers. But whatever this Author's intentions were with regard to religion, we*

*\* In a Volume of Sermons, which contain many remarks equally new, curious and important.*

have

have nothing to do with them ; it is his political heterodoxy alone that we have found necessary to take notice of, and which we think we have proved beyond all contradiction. *For in whatever sense they were written, it was necessary for us to oppose them in that sense in which we chose to receive them.*

*Now after having demolished these systems, we shall proceed to prove, that a free community built on those maxims cannot be of long duration : that the mere coercive power of the laws is not sufficient to sustain itself : that there is a strong and unalterable connection between opinions and actions : that a certain regulation of principles is necessary to prevent Liberty from degenerating into Licentiousness : and that a certain system of manners and principles are the only permanent foundations on which true Civil Liberty can arise.*

*The natural appetites, passions and desires of man are the universal fountain of his actions : but there is also a strong and essential connection between his actions, and his thoughts, opinions and principles. Now to form this connection, either his thoughts must proceed from his actions, or his actions from his thoughts. But it is evident, that his thoughts cannot proceed from his actions, because in that case a man must do a thing before he thinks of it ; which is absurd. \* His actions then must*

\* In general it is ; but this observation does not extend to such geniuses as Dr. Brown, who often do things

must necessarily proceed from his thoughts. But according to the hypothesis "his actions flow from his passions alone." Therefore thoughts, opinions and principles are the same (or synonymous terms with) natural appetites, passions and desires. *Q. E. D.*

*Now whatever means are most effectual in curbing and subduing the desires (or thoughts) of man, are the most effectual means of regulating his actions, and establishing Civil Liberty on its most permanent foundations.*

*The mere coercive power of the laws without an assistant regulation of the passions and desires (that is, of the opinions and principles) is utterly inadequate to the great ends of private happiness or public liberty.*

*Still farther and chiefly; human power cannot penetrate the secret recesses of the soul, though it may of the cabinet; nor reach the dark intentions of the heart of man, whatever it may pretend by false glosses and forced interpretations: nor always be of weight to combat the strength of individuals, as we have had a glaring instance in the late commotions, in which, if it had not been for the utmost exertion of ministerial power; the liberty*

*things without thinking at all about the matter: and the treatise which gave rise to this commentary is a convincing proof, that a man of real abilities can produce the strongest and most decisive arguments in favour of any particular point, without being at the expence of the least thought and consideration throughout the whole composition.*

of



of the ministry *must have been destroyed, and the licentiousness of the subject have triumphed.*

## S E C T. V.

*What are the foundations of Civil Liberty?*

**W**HAT then (to return to my text) are the permanent foundations, on which perfect Liberty can arise. I answer, it can only arise on the power of such a system of manners and principles effectually impressed on the human mind, as may be an inward curb to every inordinate desire or thought.

The nature of man admits of this improvement in a considerable, though not in a perfect degree; which shews that perfect Liberty is not to be expected, and that indeed there is no such thing in nature.

Virtuous manners (or a habit of passive obedience to those in power \*) are a permanent foundation for Civil Liberty. But as in some minds the selfish passions are strong and the social ones weak or wanting, and in the best formed heart incidental temptation may arise, and overturn its pre-established habits †; it  
is

\* See Note to page 6.

† It is really admirable to see with what openness and candour the reverend Author here delineates his own character, and exposes his former failings. At the same time, as an incidental temptation has happily overturned those vicious habits and principles, that formerly possessed him in favour of the late administration; and placed more virtuous habits in their stead; it is but justice to conclude,

*is a necessary measure for the security of private virtue and public freedom (of the passive obedience of individuals, and the privileges of the administration) that virtuous principles be likewise implanted in the heart. Such principles, I mean, of passive obedience, as may strengthen the good habits of thought and action already contracted by superinducing the idea of duty.*

*Of these there are but three, which can sway the manners of men, and confirm the foundation of Civil Liberty. These are Religion, Honour, and natural Conscience.*

*The principle of Religion tends to this end, as it induces the idea of duty, an idea founded on certain passages of Scripture, interpreted to us by persons delegated for that purpose.— But as the means of rendering Religion a firm ally and support of Civil Liberty, it is necessary that their dictates should be coincident : that is, the dictates of Religion should coincide with those of public law. In free countries this is the natural state of Religion : and indeed it would be in a very unnatural state, were it otherwise, in the most absolute monarchies : for it is observable, that the Religion of a State commonly either bends to the established laws of the Community, or moulds them into its own genius and complexion ; for the latter of which purposes, I presume, such*

*conclude, that virtuous principles of passive obedience are likewise firmly rooted in his heart.*

numbers

numbers of Roman Catholic Priests are daily imported into this Island, in order " to confirm the foundation of Civil Liberty."

*The principle of Honour affords a concomitant support of Civil Liberty, when properly directed. But it is apt to be warped by the fashionable and ruling manners of the times. For whatever is fashionable is apt to draw respect and applause: whatever is unfashionable is for the present entitled only to contempt \*. But in free Countries this principle is much more liable to abuse, than that of Religion. A regulation of it is therefore of the most important consequence; because if left to its own fantastic dictates it will often endanger instead of strengthening the foundations of public freedom. This we have sufficiently experienced of late in the conduct of our pretended Patriots, who, by retrenching the privileges of the administration, " in obedience to the fantastic dictates of this principle, have greatly endangered instead of strengthening the foundations of public freedom."*

*The third of these principles, that of natural Conscience, is founded in the approbation of our*

\* Here we have a natural and satisfactory reason assigned for the Doctor's tergiversation, and at the same time to confute the calumnies of those, who assert, that his Honour is greatly tarnished by this act, he shews, that it is only warped by the attracting blaze of interest, " the fashionable and ruling idol of the present times": on the removal of which to the opposite side, his Honour may possibly recover its former position.



own heart. This is in one respect independent on the other two; but in another respect intimately related to them: independent on them, as it neither looks not out for the approbation of GOD, nor the applause of man; and intimately related to them, because it appears generally to be the result of the one, or other, or both. To illustrate this by a clear and familiar allusion: We transplant the approbation of Heaven and the applause of men into our own heart; and from this, through the fertile power of association, springs a new principle of self-approbation, and self-reproof, as an additional regulator of our thoughts and actions \*.

It is true, many Writers have resolved the particular dictates of natural Conscience into an unchangeable principle of right and wrong, arising universally in the human heart. There is no doubt, but the general principle of self-approbation or self-rebuke ariseth in an universal manner in some degree or other. But it is not

\* This perhaps some may call explaining *obscurum per obscurius*; but such people are entire strangers to the powers of eloquence, which have hurried the Writer (in imitation of the greatest authors of antiquity) into such a grand assemblage of metaphors, carrying him with great force and impetuosity through the different branches of gardening, till at last the whole is wound up in the noble simile of a Watch. Though if we allow him to judge of this matter, as he most probably does, from his own sensations, we shall, on application of the maxim laid down in the latter end of Note to page 6, be rather inclined to imagine, that the regulator, by which he has here represented Conscience, is no other than a WEATHERCOCK.

necessary

*necessary to debate or dwell on this speculative point; we may therefore take it as a truth confirmed by facts, that the particular dictates of Conscience will generally be founded on those of Religion and Honour\*.*

*Hence then it appears, that this principle of Conscience stands in need of a guide, as well as those principles on which it is founded; and that on their united influence, added to the force of pre-established habits of thought and manners, public freedom might seem to arise on immovable and everlasting foundations.*

## S E C T. VI.

*An Objection considered and demolished with reason.*

**D***oubtless it will be objected (nay it hath been objected) that this is indeed a system of slavery, that it is building Civil Liberty on the servitude of the mind, and shackling the infant soul with early prejudice.*

*In answer to this plausible objection the Writer replies (what he hath elsewhere advanced; and for confirmation of which he dares appeal to Bailey's, Dyche's, or any other Dictionary of hard words compiled for the in-*

\* From this theorem may be deduced the following curious problem.—The state of the Doctor's Conscience being given, to find that of his Religion and Honour. And, *vice versa*, the state of his Religion and Honour being given, to find that of his Conscience. This proposition requires no demonstration; it being as easy to solve, as to find the situation of the wind from that of the Weathercock.

struction of great or little children) *that a prejudice doth not imply the falshood of the opinion instilled, but only that it is taken up and held without its proper evidence.* This shews that prejudice may be good, as well as bad; and therefore it may be good to instill prejudice.

*Farther, the passions and reasons of a Child will put themselves in action, however wretched and inconsistent; in the same manner as his limbs will make an effort towards walking, however awkward and absurd. The same objection therefore, that lies against instilling salutary habits and principles will arise against teaching him to walk erect: this being indeed a violation of the natural freedom of the body, as the other is of the natural liberty of the passions and the mind. The consequences too are of the same nature: for sure a Child left to the direction of his own appetites and reason would stand the same chance to grovel in absurdities, as to crawl on hands and knees and wallow in the mire.*

Therefore, as our nurses have provided an adequate remedy for these natural defects of the body, by the invention of a machine, known by the name of a Go-Cart: the Writer, in imitation of these sage matrons, would recommend the use of an instrument of the like nature, which may be called a GO-CART for the MIND. But in an age, when the advice of these venerable dames is slighted, and our children learn to walk without such prudent assistance; it is no wonder to find our political nurses so little regarded,



regarded, that men have the presumption to cast off all "salutary prejudices", and take reason for their only guide.

*Much hath been said in our times, indeed, concerning the force of this faculty; but (not to degrade its powers) to the Writer it appears, that mere reason, as it exists in man, is only a power of discerning and chusing the properest means for obtaining his desired ends, whether they be good or evil; in fact, that it is nothing more than INSTINCT. The passions, appetites, habits and principles of the soul are the universal motives to human action. Where these point not to an end desired, reason may indolently exercise its eye; but can never find nor create an object of force sufficient to put the powers of the soul and body in motion. Hence human reason must always receive its particular cast and colour from the pre-established passions, habits, and principles; will ever form its ruling ideas of good and evil, right and wrong, just and unjust, from these great fountains of human action \*. Which is the true*

\* Here we have a fresh reason for admiring the *Writer's* intimate knowledge of human nature, and at the same time a convincing proof of what we had before advanced, namely, that he draws it all from a recollection of what passes within his own breast. As in this instance,——*When his views pointed to no end desired, he indolently exercised his reason, or (to use a more favourite turn) his PRINCIPLES in a trifling manner on ESSAYS, ESTIMATES, SERMONS, POEMS AND DIS-SERTATIONS. But when the glorious Mitre presented itself*

*true cause, why this boasted human reason is indeed so poor and unprofitable a possession.*

*Neither is there any difference with respect to the real and internal freedom of the mind, between opinions instilled and opinions caught by accident. For in truth, the mind cannot be compelled to receive any habit of thought, principle or opinion. These may indeed be offered to the infant mind; but the reception of them is its own voluntary act: So when an ignorant chap, who has been induced to purchase a nag at Smithfield by the extravagant praises bestowed on him by the jockey, finding it upon trial turn out a mere jade, returns to the dealer full of indignation at this imaginary imposition; the honest Yorkshire man coolly replies, with equal strength of argument: It is very true, master, I offered you the beast; but whatever I said of it, you know I could not force you to take it; you might have had it or let it alone, just as you pleased; so that if you did buy it; it was your own voluntary act and deed.*

*Besides, if any difference could arise with respect to the true freedom of the mind; surely that*

*itself to his view, as an object sufficient to put the powers of his soul and body in motion; then these celebrated THOUGHTS flowed spontaneously from his pen, (from his head I will not pretend to say :) and "by the ruling ideas of right and wrong, just and unjust," which are so clearly displayed in these meditations, every intelligent reader is enabled to perceive from what "passions and appetites they received their particular cast and colour."*

*mind*

*mind ought to be adjudged most free, which adopts a system of thought and action founded on the wisdom of the agreeing society: this at least is consonant with the old Stoic principle that the wise man alone is free \*.*

\* *Solus sapiens liber.*

Hor.

These conclusions maturely considered, no one can deny our stoical Doctor's peculiar claim to wisdom; since it is well known, that in all revolutions of affairs he hath ever "adopted a system of thought and action founded on the wisdom of the agreeing society"; and as to the other qualifications of a wise man, mentioned by the same author,

————— *Dives, & est rex*

*Et sutor bonus.*

Hor.

He either has them already, or is in a fair way of acquiring them. First, as to the acquisition of riches, which is universally allowed to be the best proof of wisdom, his late preferment is a great step towards it: And for the second accomplishment, though he is no king, nor (unless the Cherokees or Catawaws should make him their Chief, for his great services in promoting a taste for their national music by his late curious *DIS-SERTATION* on the War-whoop) is he ever likely to be one; yet he may hope in good time to be a Bishop.—The last requisite, that of being "a good cobbler", he already possesseth in an eminent degree; of which all his works in general are an undeniable testimony; and particularly this admirable system, which he has most ingeniously patched up, by adopting a few old scraps of history to the worn-out principles of passive obedience, carefully driving in, at the conclusion of the whole; the blunt pegs of personal invective. By which means with the most indefatigable industry he has formed as perfect a Wooden Shoe, as ever was made by any State-Cobbler, that ever undertook Job-work for a Scotch Political Warehouse.

*Hence*



*Hence then it appears, that the private freedom of the infant mind is not violated, but only directed to its best end by the infusion of prejudice: hence it appears to be the proper destination of man, that he shall not be left to the follies of his own weak understanding, that he shall not be left fortuitously to imbibe the maxims of corrupt times and manners; but that he shall be conducted voluntarily to adopt those habits and principles, which have been consecrated by the approbation of the best and wisest men in every age and nation.*

And it is the peculiar happiness of this age and nation (a happiness, nevertheless, of which it seems very little sensible) to have a minister at the helm, who strives with the utmost zeal to propagate these "consecrated principles"; and, who knowing the "insufficiency of our laws", endeavours by more effectual methods to suppress to the best of his power the untoward sallies of our erring reason; and who, in fine, is himself a sufficient "guide and regulator of our Religion, Honour, and Conscience."

## S E / C T. VII.

*A Confirmation of these Principles drawn from the History of the Republics of this kingdom \*.*

## I. Of Scotland †.

**T**HESSE reasonings founded on the nature and constitution of man (though directly repugnant to both) will receive a strong and unanswerable confirmation from the history of free States. To this purpose, I shall briefly analyze the genius of the most eminent Republics of this island: Those of Scotland, England, and Great-Britain after the Revolution ‡.

\* This elegant and expressive figure, called by the learned a Synæciosis, but vulgarly termed a Bull, is taken from page 82 of the Thoughts, where mention is made of the Republic of Britain.

† Sparta.

‡ The liberty I have taken of substituting these modern names in lieu of the more ancient ones of Sparta, Athens and Rome, may perhaps appear unpardonable to some of the Doctor's admirers; but, in truth, they pay no great compliment to a genius so remarkably fertile and original, in supposing him capable of imposing on his Readers a mere school-boy's tale, pilfered from Rollin and Ainsworth's Dictionary: And I dare say, the generality of critics will agree with me, in attributing the introduction of those histories to a masterly stroke of art, by which, to avoid the censures of his envious cotemporaries, he has strongly delineated the principal outlines of his own country, under colour of shadowing out the characteristic lineaments of Sparta, Rome, and Athens.

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*The Republic of Scotland claims the first place ; both on account of its antiquity and perfection. The leading institutions, which were the essence of this Commonwealth, were these which follow.*

1. *An inconsiderable senate, fit for the purposes of a minister, and consisting of the few nobility of the land, was established as an intermediate power between the prince and people.*

2. *There was an equal partition of the lands and goods of the subject among the free and ruling members of the community.*

3. *On account of their national poverty, they introduced the use of iron money, instead of gold and silver.*

4. *The same cause joined to their natural laziness and nastiness banished or rather prevented all the arts of commerce, elegance and luxury.*

5. *Impelled by the same cause, all the members of the society partook of the same coarse fare.*

6. *An occasional community of the wives of the Plebeians was established among the nobility : So that a wife was not so much the property of her husband, as of the laird of the clan, who was entitled by the laws of the land to pass the first night with every bride in his vassalage, and afterwards to have her in common with her husband \*.*

7. *With a parallel view a kind of community of children was ordained : By this no father had*

\* See Buchanan's history of Scotland, fifth edition, page 142.



*the disposal of his own child; which from its birth was devoted to the service of the officers of the State.*

8. *An unremitted preparation and readiness for war formed the chief employment of the Caledonian State; that is, a standing army was maintained under pretence of a continued attention to the preservation of the State.*

9. *Being too lazy to cultivate their own lands, they made slaves of a large body of men, who dwelt in Cumberland, and the adjacent country; who were deprived by them of all the natural rights of men, and were often laid in wait for, and butchered in cold blood by the young men of Scotland.*

*But the first and best security of civil Liberty was laid in the deepest and most effectual manner by the mode of education prescribed to the Scottish youth.*

*No father had a right to educate his children, according to the caprice of his own fancy, but they were initiated early in the manners, the maxims, the exercises, the toils, in a word, in all the mental and bodily acquirements and habits, which corresponded with the genius of the State. The first and leading object of their affection was the welfare of their laird.—To secure the manners thus acquired they were prohibited from travelling into England, the seat of natural liberty and licentiousness, lest they should catch the infection from ill example; and the fear of starving naturally prevented all visits from strangers. Thus were they strongly*

and unalterably possessed with the love of their country.

These severe manners were confirmed by all the principles that could strengthen them in the mind of man.

The principle of religion laid at the very foundation of the State. — The religion and power of an oath was so strongly impressed on their minds, that \* Fergus, their reputed founder, trusted the future establishment of his posterity to that oath, which the people took on his last departure from the land. An oath, which proves that the religion of the country was not at variance with the appointments of the State, because it obliged them never to depart from the family of Fergus: and a still stronger proof of this assertion is, that, in opposition to all other oaths, covenants, ties or connexions since introduced amongst them, they have ever adhered to this with the most invincible obstinacy and unbiassed resolution.

The principle of honour was not at variance, but co-operated with that of religion. Their songs, which made a part of their education, tended to inflame their minds with honest ambition. Their subject was generally the praise of such men, as had died in defence of their country, or in derision of those, who had shrunk from the public service. The old men talked high of what they had done: the younger part echoed back their song declaring their reso-

\* Lycurgus.

lution, not to disgrace the valour of their forefathers \*.

The principle of natural Conscience was so intimately interwoven with those of their Religion and Honour, that it affords a striking proof, how far natural Conscience depends on these other principles. If natural Conscience were in itself a well regulated and sufficient guide, could any thing have been more odious to its dictates, than prostitution, adultery, thievery and assassination †. Yet all these did the severe Scotsmen practice not only without remorse, but with self-approbation; the infant mind being beforehand modelled to this system of imagined duty. For on the very ruling principles of the State, their daughters were debauched, their wives were common, their victuals were stolen, their neighbours were enslaved and murdered.

From this view of the Scottish Commonwealth, these farther remarks may naturally arise. 1. It hath been matter of surprize by what means Fergus should be able to persuade the Scots not only to change the form of their Government, but to quit their private possessions, the property of their wives, the care of their children, and adopt a contrary system so abhorrent from the desires of civilized man. And indeed, supposing the fact, it should seem a paradox

\* See that elegant collection of poems lately published by Mr. M'Pherson.

† Those who dissent from this opinion, in order to avoid the force of this argument, make it a query, whether a Scot hath any Conscience at all?

utterly



utterly unaccountable. *The true solution seems of a quite different nature.* \* Robertson, the Scottish Historian, leads me to it. "The first ages of the Scottish History (*saitb be*) are dark and fabulous.—The gross ignorance, which anciently covered all the North of Europe, renders it impossible to give any authentic account of the origin of the different nations now established there.—The Scots carry their pretensions to Antiquity as high as any of their neighbours. Relying upon uncertain legends, and the traditions of their Bards still more uncertain; they reckon up a series of Kings, several ages before the birth of Christ, and give a particular detail of the occurrences, which happened in their reigns.—But that period of the History of Scotland, which reaches from the origin of the monarchy down to the reign of Kenneth II. is the region of pure fable and conjectures, and ought to be totally neglected or abandoned to the industry and credulity of antiquaries." Hence it appears, that the true history of their founder was lost in the darkness of fabulous and obscure ages, and that as to the beginnings of this Commonwealth we have nothing to depend on, but the traditionary rumours of a barbarous and lying period.—That mankind should be carried back to this system of manners from a state of humanity and civilization, that they should quit private property, decency, domestic comforts, wives and children,

\* Plutarch.

and give them up to the possession of tyrants, is a contradiction, to all the known powers and passions of the human mind. To effect a change of government is a work, sufficient for the abilities of the greatest Legislator; and what even our unparalleled Legislator will find difficult to perform. But to overturn all the pre-established habits of the head and heart, to destroy or reverse all the fixed associations, maxims, manners and principles of a whole civilized community; were a labour, which might well be ranked among the most extravagant legends of the fabulous Scots. Yet this is not sufficient to deter our Caledonian hero from attempting to execute the same plan in a nation, which was always noted for its peculiar and invincible obstinancy; but in the true strain of political knight-errantry, he nobly persists in pursuing a scheme which has no foundation or example, except in the romantic tales of the credulous Highlanders.

On the other hand to bring forward a tribe of untaught savages one degree towards civilisations, and there to fix them;—to introduce iron money, where no money had been in use;—to discourage commerce, where commerce was almost unknown;—to make them go without breeches, where they scarcely knew the use of a plaid;—to allow of theft and homicide under certain limitations, where both had been practised without limitation;—to make wives at times a public property, where promiscuous concubinage had prevailed;—to give children a confined education, where no  
edu-

*education had taken place ;—These might all seem the natural practicable efforts of a Fergus, or any other second-sighted Legislator.*

*The fate of \* Malcolm I. their patriot king, confirms this solution. He with a degree of public virtue seldom seen in any station attempted to bring back the corrupt state to its first rigorous institutions. But that which Fergus could establish among untaught savages Malcom found unpracticable among a corrupted people. He was seized, imprisoned, and murdered by a faction in his attempt to restore freedom to a degenerate Republic. And it is greatly to be feared by all true Scottish Patriots, that his illustrious Countryman and descendent, by exactly pursuing the same salutary measures, may at last be brought to share the same fate ; and fall a victim to the envy of a numerous faction, that ardently wishes for his downfall, or rather his exaltation upon Temple-Bar.*

2. Hence it follows, that the strongest political institutions may be formed on the savage state of man : while the Lawgiver, who reforms a state already modelled and corrupted, must content himself with such partial regulations, as the force of prior establishments and public habits will admit.—*Happy would the writer esteem his labours, if they could, in the least, restrain the unbounded imagination of our indefatigable Legislator from proceeding beyond these*

*\* Agis.*

narrow



narrow limits; or if this noble principle of Reformation, which hath tended so much to the improvement of his country could in any degree be checked by his weak admonitions from degenerating into a cause of his destruction.

3. It appears that the institutions of the Scottish republic were admirably calculated for each other's support, because they tended strongly to prevent the first inroads of temptation to the mind. The division of lands and goods among the Nobility, took away from the rest of the nation all hopes of superiority in wealth: The introduction of iron-money rendered wealth cumbersome and untractable: The want of commerce prevented the materials of luxury: The banishment of elegant arts prevented the first conception of them: The barrenness of their land cut off the hope, nay, prevented the desire of all private indulgence of the palate, the disorders of intemperance: To secure these rigid Institutions, their children were educated under the influence of their Thanes; lest private passion should mixt its alloy, with the rigorous appointments of the state.

But supposing an inroad made into any one of its capital institutions, the ruin of the whole was inevitable. Thus the accession of one of their Monarchs to the throne of England, enriched such of his subjects, as enjoyed his favour: This inequality of possessions brought in wealth and poverty: Or (as some are apt to think) wealth and poverty consist in inequality of possessions. Wealth brought in luxury; poverty gave birth to envy and avarice. Li-

*centiousness and faction thus crept in, and the fall of Scotland was inevitable. This gradation is also excellently expressed, though not quite so poetically, in the famous oracular verses prefixed to our almanacks. "War begets poverty, &c."——"The world goes round."*

*Yet even amidst the decays of this republic, the force of a rigorous education essentially mixed with the principles of the state, was still conspicuous. And the Scottish Clans present a clear proof, that opinion may be free, yet still united. But this free union can only be the happy effect of an early and rigorous education; by which the growing minds of the community are voluntarily led by public institutions into one common channel of habit, principle and action. And we learn from the above-mentioned Scottish Historian, that their Clans resembled one great and powerful person, actuated by one soul, rather than a society composed of many individuals.*

*Such then was the force of concurrent manners and principles, all centering in one point, impressed on the infant mind, and continued by a variety of rigorous institutions. And the power of manners and maxims thus imbibed, was so untractable, even in the declining periods of the Commonwealth, that the Parliament of Great Britain, after many fruitless attempts to annihilate its influence, found that the only method of destroying those principles, must be in dissolving their Clans, and fettering their posteriors with breeches.*

*In*

*In analysing the original state of manners and principles in the English commonwealth we shall find a different state of things ; tending first to enlarge and aggrandise the republic, and in the end to corrupt and destroy it.*

## S E C T. VIII.

### *Of England. \**

**T**HE manners and principles of Old England, which tended to aggrandise the republic, were, first, a love of their country, instilled into their rising youth ; formed chiefly on the power of custom, and more particularly on the warlike genius of the state. Their annals abound with so many instances of this grand passion ; that present times stand amazed, and with difficulty credit their story.

2. This passion, founded on an early, though not a prescribed education, was so strengthened by their religious system, and their principle of honour so coincided with that of their religion, that, till the fatal entrance of Deism, English faith, honour and honesty were grown into a proverb, and were current all over the world.

3. We have proved, that the principle of natural conscience must co-operate with these for the confirmation of civil freedom. The force of

\* Rome.



this principle is no less conspicuous in the early periods of English Liberty: It arose even into a ferocious pride of virtue, independent of all outward Testimony, which hath distinguished the great names of Old England from those of every other people upon earth.

But in spite of all these, there were three fatal circumstances admitted into the very essence of the republic, which contained the seeds of certain ruin. The first of these, was the neglect of instituting public laws, by which the education of their children might have been ascertained.

The second of these, was "their principle of unlimited conquest." The ruling genius of the State was warlike; their warlike genius was unchecked by any other principle. Hence unre-mitted exercises, unceasing improvements in discipline, increasing valour and ferocity arose. Thus they attempted to acquire, and thus they acquired the dominion of the seas.

But such an empire is utterably untenable. Valour may acquire, but cannot maintain it. The body of such a State is too enormous to be effectually animated by the soul. This is a cause of ruin so clear, that it hath met even the observation of our poreblind M—y, and therefore needs no farther proof.

The third principle was that fatal one of change: the danger arising from this principle, manifestly increased with their increasing empire. That identity and integrity of manners, which is the soul and security of every free State, gave way

*to manners and principles wholly dissimilar. New maxims of life, new principles of religion and irreligion, of honour and dishonour, of right and wrong, picked up indiscriminately among the nations which they conquered, by degrees increased themselves into the heads and hearts of the English. Here then, we see the original foundation of all the misery and ruin, which ensued. On the conquests of the luxurious, immoral and unprincipled tribes of France\*, the English, having no preventive remedy in their State, of course adopted the luxury, the immoralities, the irreligion of the conquered people.*

*All the particular consequences that followed, were occasional and inevitable. The rapacity, the factions, the civil wars, the enormous profligacy of individuals, the horrible calamities of the State, all these were no more than the natural and incidental effects of this general cause, "The loss of manners and principles."*

## S E C T. IX.

Of Great-Britain †, after the Revolution.

**T**HOUGH the study of history be often instructive and useful, yet in one respect it becomes the source of frequent error even when it is written with impartiality and truth. This ariseth from a mistaken application of historical facts. In like manner, plumb-porridge is in-

\* Of Greece.

† Of Athens.

deed very good and comfortable to the stomach; but, if you eat it too hot, (be it ever so nicely and skilfully prepared) it is a great chance, if it do not burn your mouth. Much caution is therefore necessary in the application of historical facts. Let us then remark some of the most essential circumstances in which the constitution of the British State differs from those of Scotland and Old England; and then draw such conclusions, as may be consistent with these distinctions.

*We have seen the force of manners and principles in the strong formation and continuance of the Scottish State. We shall now see the effects of manners and principles in the weak establishment, the unceasing factions and early dissolution of the Commonwealth of Britain as established by the Revolution.*

*It appears from our conjectures, that Fergus probably forming his people in the first and earliest period of civilization, was thus enabled to establish a perfect Republic\*. William, on the contrary, having a corrupted people to reform, could only institute such a kind of government, as their pre-established habits, vices and forms of polity could admit. For at the time of the Revolution, which was the first æra of Britain's freedom, many prior institutions and establishments both in religion and policy, manners and principles, had taken place. The seeds of irreligion had for some time been privately fomenting in the mask-tub of licentiousness; but*

\* Solon.



*they had not as yet broke forth into open growth; when at length they grew into a beverage of an enormous head and strength; which was greedily drank by all ranks, till it had well nigh intoxicated the whole nation.*

*The first and ruling defect in the institution of this republic seems to have been "the total want of an established education, suited to the genius of the State." There appears not to have been any public, regular, or prescribed appointment of this kind, beyond what custom had accidentally introduced. 'Tis true, that the parents often had masters to instruct their children in the gymnastic arts (tho' even here the broad sword was neglected) as likewise in music. Which last, in the ancient acceptation of the word, as we have often shewn in our dissertation on this art, included poem, as well as melody. 'Tis farther true, that the poems thus taught their children, included often the great actions, but with all the vices of their ancient heroes; and whoever compares the English Robinhood with the Scottish hero Fingal, will easily be convinced of the superiority in manners and principles of the Scots over their brethren of the south, who can admire (and what is worse) teach their children to admire such an infamous libertine and robber. Yet in this first and ruling circumstance in the institution of a free State, the parents were much at liberty to do as seemed good to them. They might either learn them Dr. Watts's Hymns, "Green grow the rushes O," or (which is*

is too often the case) learn them to sing nothing at all : So that some youthful minds were imbibed with virtuous principles, some with vicious principles, and some with no principles, with such as must, therefore, on the whole, tend to shake the foundations of true freedom.

The second ruling defect in the constitution of this republic was the establishment of a democracy. This naturally arose from the licentious state of manners and principles, which William found already prevalent among the people. A virtuous people would have been content to have equally shared the legislative power with the higher ranks of the commonwealth. But a licentious people naturally grasped at the whole, as the likeliest means (in their deluded eye) of gratifying their unbridled passions. Note here, that all who send representatives for the countries to Parliament, are the people, but the citizens are the populace. These are happily not possessed of the legislative power ; being a body of labourers and mechanics, who earned their bread with the sweat of their brows, and whom, even the candor of the writer, cannot deny to be too generally ignorant and ill educated, too generally profligate in manners, and void of principle. When the British Alcibiades, Lord Strange, addressed the legislative body of the Citizens of London, he addressed tinkers and cobblers. When the people of Rome retired in discontent to the Sacred Mountain, they were appeased by the fable of the belly, head and hands. A Lord of Parliament would make but a sorry figure, who  
should

*should come armed with such an apologue for the conviction of a British House of Commons, which in these days is accustomed to a more substantial and palpable method of conviction. From this weak and imperfect establishment, founded on the caprices of an ignorant, unprincipled and licentious populace, all the subsequent factions, which ended in the ruin of this Republic, are clearly derived.*

*We need go no farther into the history of this Republic for a discovery of the causes of its final ruin. It is true, that an imperfect semblance of Liberty often appeared amidst the factions of succeeding times. It is true, that that powerful correctress necessity (for they who attribute this to the integrity and abilities of Mr. Pitt, greatly wrong this celebrated Stateswoman) gave a temporary union to all parties, and a temporary restoration to the State. However, from the deduction of the causes here given, it was natural to expect, that as soon as danger ceased, faction would arise. But as the dissensions of past time were chiefly founded on false principles, those of the present age are founded on want of principles. For the mistaken interpretations of Scripture, on which the Jacobite, the Tory, &c. founded their various pretensions and attempts, are now held in general derision. A preacher, of whatever religious congregation, who should now advance these obsolete State-heterodoxies, would be the contempt of his wiser audience. Not but that they may*

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still



still be advanced in political essays, and even sermons, provided they be cloaked under the specious covert of Religion and Liberty. Finally, it is true, that wealth and luxury have contributed to hasten the fall of this constitution. But we need not have recourse to the inroads of wealth and luxury, as the causes of its dissolution. It resembles a beautiful edifice founded on sand and rubbish; where an uneducated, an unprincipled, a licentious populace rule the State: that State is destined to the convulsive struggles of faction, while it lives, and then to a speedy death\*.

\* For the form and plan of the constitution intended to be erected on the ruins of the present, see the latter end of the book. In this place, I shall only beg leave to offer to the Reader's consideration a few more convincing proofs to support my conjectures on the meaning of my Author. First then, the preference he seems to give to Sparta for strength and duration, might, if taken in a literal sense, embarrass even a commentator of his happy genius and talent for extricating himself out of difficulties; as I am much mistaken, or all the historians of that period inform us, that the Roman republic had greatly the advantage of the Spartan in this respect; on the contrary, the antiquity of the Scottish form of government is unanimously upheld by all their legendary classics, and is besides supported by the invariable testimony of many thousands of witnesses of the same nation now living, who with a laudable zeal are ready at all times to assert the honour of their country in so tender a point, with their tongues, pens and swords. Secondly, the two sections immediately following this in the original (most of which, however, I have here omitted) not only give an authority to, but are indeed the best defence of, my interpretation: As they contain, in plain terms, the  
same

## S E C T. X.

*Among what ranks Licentiousness and Faction  
may most probably be expected.*

**T**HOUGH this want of principle must naturally infect every rank of men in a certain degree; yet some ranks stand more exposed

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to

same account of the present state of Great Britain (tho' for prudential reasons, not quite so exaggerated) as is veiled under the allegory of Athens. Some of these passages are so perfectly adapted to the foregoing section, that I have made no scruple of transferring them to it. If any should be inclined to censure me on that account, as taking too great liberties with the sense of my Author, I must desire them to look at the Appendix to a Sermon lately preached by him; in which he takes the same method of quoting passages from his "Thoughts on Civil Liberty," and even other productions of his pen; and of interweaving them one with another, in order to explain his ideas in these very Thoughts. Thirdly, the high compliments paid to the Revolution in the latter of the above-mentioned sections, are so far from making against my interpretation, that they strongly corroborate and approve it; for it requires no great share of discernment to perceive that these compliments are merely ironical: That extravagant rhodomontade in particular, of the Revolution being the first æra of Britain's freedom, is enough to open the eyes of the blind, and make them see his intentions. I cannot conclude this long note without observing, that I have also purposely overlooked the section next to these, which comprehends a complete refutation of all the deistical writers since the Revolution; not only  
because

to it than others. And that we may give as little offence as possible, while we speak the truth, we beg leave to premise the following observation; which is as uncommon as acute, and at the same time so irrefragable, that no one will dare to deny it. This is, that all orders of men are born with an equal tendency to virtue or vice, and their adopting the one, or the other, depends chiefly on the temptations to which their rank exposes them.

The great, (as we have before shewn in our estimate of manners and principles) are luxurious, ambitious, and licentious, without religion, without conscience, and with a very inconsiderable share of true honour.

The populace are poor, discontented and envious. They are let loose to every impulse of appetite by frequent opportunity and secrecy of action; they are tempted by wicked examples, inflamed by evil communication, and intoxicating liquors. Now as evil communications corrupt good manners, so do bad liquors spoil good principles. It is to these, and especially Gin, the common drink of our Garretteers, that we may ascribe the many Libels that have been poured forth since the peace against the

because it has been often done before, though, it must be confessed, never in so concise and absolute a manner; but also, because a great many are apt to think a chapter on irreligion somewhat foreign to the present purpose, and rather more proper to be inserted in the "Principles of Christian Legislation.

ministry;



ministry ; and a sagacious critic from the stile and matter of a political pamphlet will easily discover the beverage of its Author. Thus many people of penetration have found from the manly flow and turn of Mr. Churchill's verse, that he drank large draughts at the Cerealian spring, before they were told of his fondness for Porter ; and any one, that reads Mr. Wilkes's North Britons with the least attention, will soon be convinced that they were purely the effects of Hanover Mum. *These two, however, the Writer will pass unnoticed, lest he should seem to insult over the exiled or the dead.*

## S E C T. XI.

*Of the most effectual Means of detecting Licentiousness and Faction.*

**W**H E R E *Faction is founded on false principles, it is easily detected, because it is generally avowed. It implies merely an error of the mind ; and he who holds it, is not ashamed of it, because he holds it as a truth. So that a man, who is factious without knowing it, will openly avow that he is factious.*

*But Faction, (as defined in the second section) is founded on Licentiousness. This cannot easily be detected, but “ Faction founded on*  
false

false principles, is easily detected." Therefore it is not faction.

Now Faction, (that is, *faction founded on Licentiousness, or want of principle*) has the appearance of freedom, and the favourite subjects of its clamours will be the misconduct of those that govern.

In every free State there will frequently occur certain subjects and measures of "doubtful expediency." When such doubtful measures become the subjects of political contention, it may be difficult to determine from the mere circumstance of opinion, who are the friends of Liberty, and who the abettors of Faction.

A much surer determination may be formed on the manner and conduct of the dissenting party. Let us, then, endeavour to particularize these distinctive marks or characters; by which, applied to manners, (for opinions and principles are here intirely out of the question) we shall best be able to determine, who are the friends of liberty, and who the abettors of Licentiousness and Faction.\*

## S E C T.

\* The subsequent section to this, in the original, consists of the following "Characteristic marks of Liberty."

1. The friend of Liberty will endeavour to preserve that just balance of divided power established by law for the security of freedom.
2. He will be attached to measures without respecting men; that is, whoever is in power, he will always pursue proper measures for his own advancement.
3. He will generally be self-consistent both in speech and action, that is, whenever he can; for it would be morally impossible

## S E C T. XII.

*Of the first characteristic Marks of Licentiousness and Faction.\**

*“THE abettors of Faction would aim to enslave both prince and people to their own avarice and ambition.”*

*Thus,*

possible for a prudent man to be always so in these frequent changes of ministry. 4. *His debates will be void of undistinguishing and injurious imputations on any whole bodies of men, or on the characters of individuals, who may differ from him in opinion; because he will clearly see that others have the same right of “disapproving” as himself hath of “approving” the measures of government.* I thought it unnecessary to insert these characteristics (however emphatical and comprehensive) at full length in the text; because every one who has the least knowledge of the character of the excellent writer, may see these characteristics yet more strongly marked in his conduct, than in his book; or, to borrow an exquisite compliment of his, and apply it to himself, where it is so justly due: *These general truths might be commented on; but at present the writer can with satisfaction leave it to the impartial public, to find a more instructive and LIVING COMMENT.*

\* By these marks, Mr. Pitt and his Friends have been generally supposed to have been stigmatized; but on how slight a foundation, any one may judge who considers the deluge of praise, with which the Author has overwhelmed Mr. Pitt in a former production; and surely no one can suppose that such “A known and zealous friend of Liberty,” would openly and directly contradict himself in so material a point. Such a proceeding as this could hardly be reconciled with that express declaration, that  
“The



*Thus, if any set of men had in former times been in power, and while in power had oppressed embarrassed majesty, with a load of perriwig, had by these means usurped the Government of the Crown, and applied it rather to the support of their own influence, than to the public welfare.* ~

*If the Heads of the people had fared no better under their hands :—If these too had been swallowed up in the great gulph of Tonforial power :—If the members of the lower House, while they seemed to be the free representatives of the people, had been in truth, a great part of them, no more than the commissioned deputies of their respective Barbers, whose sentiments*

“ The friend of Liberty will generally (at least) be self-consistent in word and action.” However, these shafts are certainly not shot at random ; and the late factious conduct of the tonforial faculty gives us too much room to fix the stigma upon them. Besides, it is notorious that as they now are, so they always have been, the chief support and patrons of the Whig party : For, not to mention, that in Charles the Second’s time, the introduction of perukes gave rise to the introduction of Whigs ; it has been observed, that the Whig interest has always prevailed in proportion, as perukes have encreased or decreased in their bulk ; and that after the Revolution in particular, these vanities were carried to the most enormous lengths.—In order to obviate a plausible objection, it may be necessary to remind the reader, that as our clergy have not as yet unanimously agreed to throw off the superfluous ornaments imposed on them by the gentry ; it would not have been prudent in the Doctor to exasperate a set of people, who daily have his life intirely at their mercy.

*they*

*they declared, whose interests they pursued; and whose instruments they owned themselves to be by assuming the name of Whigs.—*

*If such a set of men, as soon as they had lost their influence, should now rail at the Tory Ministers of the crown, as the engines of despotism; though they had been formerly allowed by the wisdom of the State, as the occasional securities of freedom:—*

*If they should now absurdly magnify and exalt the privileges of the Lower House, beyond the limits prescribed by a free constitution:—If their pretence should be the vindication of the people's rights; while their real motive was the restoration of their own exorbitant power, founded on an expected majority of their own journeymen and dependents:—*

*If this conduct was pursued by any set of men, they would stand convicted of a clear mark of Licentiousness and Faction.*

### S E C T. XIII.

#### *A second Mark.*

*“THE patrons of faction would be attached to men to the neglect of measures.”*

*If the same men, when formerly in power, should have obstinately adhered to each other, and should have execrated every man as the enemy of his country, who employed their rivals in any shape whatsoever:—*

H

If

*If in any sudden change in the fountain of power, a more generous system of government should have taken place :—If these men should be unexpectedly stripped of all power and influence :—*

*If on this, the clamours of their attendant populace should arise ; and demands in favour of men should be the leading object of accommodation :—*

*If these demands should be not only irrational in their kind, but exorbitant and oppressive in their degree ; requiring a general restoration of all the discontented, and a general dismissal of all who were in power, though of known fidelity to this King and Country :—*

*If such should be the conduct, &c. &c.*

#### S E C T. XIV.

##### *A third Mark.*

**“THE** patrons of faction would be self-contradictory and inconsistent, not only on different, but on parallel occasions.”

*Thus, if the exercise of a profession should be quietly allowed to certain foreigners, and by the same persons should be clamoured against in their successors : The persons thus acquiescing and clamouring by turns, would stand convicted of a self-contradictory and inconsistent conduct : And without deciding on the propriety or impropriety of the usage in question, (because, perhaps,*  
it



it would not bear examination) would carry upon them a clear mark of *Licentiousness* and *Faction* :—

Again, if a certain mode of adorning the head was generally exercised among all the ranks of a free country :—If the same persons, already characterized, should now condemn this as a despotic measure in the servants of the crown, which they themselves formerly exercised, when in power, and still continue to exercise towards their customers :—These gentlemen would betray a very notable inconsistency in their conduct : And therefore, without any decision on the rectitude of such a general practice, would stand convicted, &c. &c.

## S E C T. XV.

### *A fourth Mark.*

“ **T**HE patrons of faction would endeavour to delude and inflame an ignorant and licentious populace against their legal governors.”

In a nation like this, to make the populace of the capital a successful instrument of sedition, a degree of art would be necessary; perhaps, as much as is requisite to whet and give an edge to a blunt razor. The first step, therefore, that faction would take, would be to confound itself with the rest of the people; and dignify “the clamour of the **POPULACE**,” by stiling it “the Voice of the **BARBERS**.”

*The fury of such a populace, thus awakened by vanity, vice and ignorance, would arise in a variety of shapes.*

*If an order of the Senate should be given for the burning of a paper legally declared seditious, such a populace would be incited to rescue it from the fire. And they who had thus incited them, would cry, "That's the BARBER."*

*Every talking demagogue, who should oppose the measures of government, would be artfully and indiscriminately obtruded on an ignorant populace as a patriot or heroe. And they, who had thus obtruded him, comparing him to their own prating tribe, would boast that he was, "The BARBER."*

*Every distinguished friend to the measures of government, would be artfully obtruded on such a populace, as the enemy of his country: And they, who had thus obtruded him, would say, that he was not "The BARBER."*

*Every act of the legislature, which contradicted the passions or partial interests of such a populace, or their leaders, would be branded by them as arbitrary and oppressive; and they would cry, that it was not "The BARBER."*

*If daily or periodical papers of intelligence, as likewise scurrilous songs and ballads, were circulated from the capital through the nation, and these were open to the admission of every thing, which private pique, passion or interest might suggest, they would of course become the general repositories of popular slander: And as  
malice*

*malice is always more eager to accuse, than injured innocence to defend; the burden of most of these songs would be, "Lord B— is not the BARBER."*

## S E C T. XVI.

### *A fifth Mark.*

*"THE abettors of faction would throw injurious and undistinguishing imputations on every body of men, who differed from them in opinion."*

*Thus, if any mistaken principle had formerly been maintained, but was now generally forsaken and derided; a faction could not be detected by any clearer mark, than by its attempt to conjure the ghost of this departed principle, in order to alarm and terrify not only the populace, but the people.*

*If on this pretence, any men should attempt to revive animosities which time had buried;—should attempt to divide and distract the professors of an art, whose common welfare depended on their union;—should revile all men without distinction, who were born in a certain Kingdom, and indiscriminately endeavour to exclude them from a participation of those trusts, honours and emoluments (such as valets de chambres, cooks, hair-dressers) to which they might stand entitled by their capacity or virtue:—Who*  
*would*



would not discover, in this unequal conduct, a clear and distinctive mark, &c.

The views of such men, would be still more apparent, should they insinuate, that our nobility received those very men as their servants and favourites, whose principles tended to the subversion of our Religion and Constitution. This insinuation, indeed, would not so much merit detestation, as contempt and ridicule.

## S E C T. XVII.

### *A sixth Mark.*

**T**HE abettors and instruments of faction, would promiscuously calumniate the private characters of the principal individuals of the opposing party."

It was the just observation of an ancient writer, that "The Barber is an abomination to the Chimney-sweeper\*, and the Chimney-sweeper an abomination to the Barber." Yet the measures which these two parties take in their treatment of each other, are essentially different. The Chimney-sweeper never maliciously stabs

\* Some may be inclined to think, that, whatever relation the Barbers may have to the one party, these professors of the Black Art have very little analogy or connection with the members of the other; however we cannot help being of opinion, that this term is at least as applicable to them, as that of "the righteous," which is bestowed on them in the original.

*though*

(though he may sometimes blacken) *his neighbour* : The Barber, on the contrary, delights in this most practicable, but most atrocious of all mischiefs : Practicable to him, by his neighbours submitting their throats to his razor ; and atrocious by reason of the trust reposed in him.

Here then, is a secure and ample field for every profligate minister of faction : Here “ he tosseth about scissors, razors, and death, and cries, am I not in sport ? ” \*

## S E C T. XVIII.

Setting forth, “ The whole art of defence,” or, “ A new way to get out of old scrapes.”

**S**HOULD it be objected to the writer, that while he blames the practice in others, he indiscriminately characterizeth whole bodies of men, who dissent from public measures, he would reply, that the accusation is groundless : For he hath expressly distinguished those who dissent in principles of Liberty (and these are none, as hath

\* Though we cannot at present recollect any instance of this plea being urged during the late contest on Libels ; yet as we entertain not the least doubt of our Author’s veracity ; we shall only remark, that it is a great pity, that Mr. Wilkes, after having given the lie to an august Personage, had not pleaded, that he was very sorry he should have given any offence, but that he really was only in sport.

been

been shewn before, Sect. XI.) from such as dissent on motives of faction.

Should it be objected, that he hath attacked even private characters in the way of indirect description, this accusation would be equally ill-founded; for he hath only introduced them as they happened to serve his purpose.

Should it be objected, that he hath indirectly censured those, whose conduct he had formerly applauded, he replies, with a fashionable double-entendre, that he never was attached to men, but measures\*.

Should it be objected, that some of these Marks may seem to involve men of good morals in private life: He would reply, that the affections of good men in private life, may not always extend to the public: Though it is quite otherwise with regard to men of bad morals in private life, of which he himself hath given an example in the cases of Wilkes and Churchill.

Should it be objected, that some of these Marks may seem to involve men, who have been eminently serviceable to their country in public stations: He would put them off, with politely replying; that he ever hath been, and ever will be proud to do justice to merit, when exercised in any public station.

Should it be objected, that he questions the conduct of those only, who are now out of power: He would reply, that he formerly questioned their

\* See note to Sect. XI.



*conduct, when in the fulness of their power : Thus to make the public ample amends for shifting his praises with the cap of power, he hath with the greatest constancy and impartiality abused some persons in and out of power too.*

### S E C T. XIX.

*Of the most effectual means of checking the growth of Licentiousness and Faction.\**

**T***HE first advance towards a cure of this national evil, must arise from the steady conduct of the Prince.*

*The next remedy, must be the steadiness of the minister in discouraging, as far as in him lies,*

\* These four concluding sections, I have contracted into one ; as, I suppose, my Readers by this time may be glad to come to a conclusion ; and (however they may admire it in the original,) perhaps would not allow a Commentator to step out of his road for the sake of attacking a disabled Author. Though I cannot deny, but that I should willingly join the WRITER in his easy victory over the Author of "The Origin of Evil:" as he has been before so worried by different huntsmen, that there is no possibility of danger, and upon the whole, I cannot help thinking it must be excellent sport ; at least if I may judge from my Author's alacrity and good scent at this sort of game ; wherein he has often displayed his superior abilities, and (to apply to him the words of a much inferior Poet)

"Thrice he routed all his foes, and thrice he slew the slain."

I

the

*the inroads of venality and corruption. This is both his duty and interest, because the more the venal are fed, they grow more importunate: If you gorge one of these to the full, and thus lay him to sleep, ten will rise in his place, every one more clamorous than the first. And this remedy is the more necessary, as it admirably agrees with the present plan of œconomy. However, it does not at all affect the body of Ecclesiastics, for whom there is always provided a variety of CHAPLAINSHIPS, bishoprics, and stalls, where they may "be laid to sleep," and rest from their labours.*

*Thirdly. The limitation of extended conquest and empire, might seem an object worthy the attention of the highest powers. Rome perished by its avidity of unbounded empire. Colonies, when peopled beyond a certain degree, (the bounds of which our ministry is perfectly acquainted with, and has taken care not to go a step beyond in the late peace) become a burthen to the mother-country: They exhaust her numbers, they distract her attention, they divide her compacted strength.\**

*Fourthly. This limitation is of more importance, as it would naturally set bounds to ano-*

\* From this surprizing similarity of sentiments, to those of the North Briton, No. 24, our readers, perhaps, will be led to conclude, either that the WRITER has copied these from the North Briton, or that he really was the author of that number. From the Writer's known character of originality, we should be inclined to suppose the latter.

*ther excess, I mean that of trade and wealth. Much hath been said on the present exorbitant price of provisions, and general distress of the poor. Every cause hath been assigned except the true one, which seems to be the sinking value of money, arising necessarily from the exorbitant increase of trade and wealth. If this be so, it follows, that the evil is incurable, excepting only by a general augmentation of the wages of the poor. Now this, which is the necessary effect of the exorbitancy of commerce, naturally tends, by the increased price of manufactures, to the destruction of commerce\*. It therefore appears to the writer a demonstrative truth, that exorbitant trade and wealth are most dangerous to private virtue, and therefore to public freedom.*

*Fifthly. The immediate care of upright manners and principles, might seem an object worthy*

\* It is much to be lamented, that during the late insurrections, our ministry had never thought to send the Doctor, as their apostle, into Spital-Fields, to preach this doctrine to the mutinous weavers. For we dare venture to affirm, that even, if they had only posted up the leaf whence these reasonings are extracted (and we know the Doctor has too much patriotism to refuse giving up, now the curiosity of the public is pretty well satisfied, the remainder of his second edition for the good of his country) it would have been of infinitely greater service in dispersing them, than all the edicts of the Lord Mayor and Court of Common Council. We had like to have added, or of the House of \*\*\*\*\* but a late penalty inflicted on three of the Printers of the public papers, has taught us more respect, than to presume even to give the most distant hint with regard to any thing that is done OUT of that August Assembly.



*the strictest attention of the legislature and magistrate.* Indeed, the care of the former is already taken off their hands, by the disinterested pains of the Society for the Reformation of Manners; and the latter, the legislature has already taken into its consideration, which it is to be hoped, may be further enforced by these THOUGHTS.

*To this end, he thinks, that although he would by no means discourage the freedom of the press, yet sure its licentiousness might seem an object of the magistrates regard. Now, licentiousness,\* is "every desire carried into action, which might, in any respect, violate those equal laws established for the common benefit of the whole."* The licentiousness of the press then, is the desire of every pert coxcomb, whose vanity leads him to set up for a WRITER, carried into action by printing his THOUGHTS, in direct violation of the laws of nature, which effectually to secure the public peace from being disturbed by the immoderate vanity of these literary fops, has taken care to expose them and their works to continual scorn, by denying them the least glimmering of common sense. From this description it appears, that the licentiousness of the press, is the same with the "*Cacoethes Scribendi*" of Juvenal, or what, by the moderns, in compliment to the Scots, (who are remarkably

\* See page 14 of the Thoughts.

infected with this malady) is called the itch of writing. And the rod of power seems to be more wanted here, as the brimstone of criticism is found rather to irritate than allay the disorder; and the best remedy hitherto discovered (though even that usually proves very ineffectual) is neglect. If this abuse was once rectified; we should not then see divines, the height of whose abilities reaches to the patching up of a tolerable SERMON, pretend to write on poetry, music, ethics, politics, and in short, on every subject, which their vanity or interest incites them to undertake.

*Sixthly. All these may be regarded as the temporary and concomitant supports of freedom: But the chief and essential remedy to licentiousness and faction, the fundamental means of the lasting and secure establishment of civil liberty, can only "lie in a general and prescribed improvement of the laws of education. And it is for want of a prescribed code of education, to which all the members of the community should legally submit, that the manners and principles, on which alone the State can rest, are ineffectually instilled, are vague, fluctuating, and self-contradictory.*

*Nothing then is more evident than, that some reform in this great point is necessary for the security of public freedom. This reform, to some, may appear easy to effect; by others, it will be derided, as wholly impracticable. Perhaps the*  
truth

*truth may lie between these two opinions.—To throw the manners and principles of a nation into any new channel, is certainly a work of no small difficulty. On the other hand, we seem to have many materials lying round us ready to be converted into the means of this great work. A pure and rational religion, universally professed in the southern parts of the continent, a generous system of policy, founded on that religion: At home, a populace, part of which is already converted, and the remainder, by their enthusiasm and ignorance ready to be converted, to “this pure and rational religion:” A great number of skilful workmen lately arrived, who perfectly know how to handle their tools, and turn them to the advantage both of “this pure religion, and the generous system of policy founded upon it:” and, to crown the whole, a zealous and indefatigable M——y, ready at all times to assist in promoting so good a work.*

To conclude, these remedies, however just in their nature, can only be effectual through a proper application: And this can only lie in a zealous and unfeigned union of the honest among all ranks and parties, against the patrons and instruments of licentiousness and faction.

But our chief dependence for this reform is on the people, or inhabitants of the country, and not on the citizens or populace. *Now a circumstance ariseth, which inevitably tends to disunite*



*disunite and distract the honest among the people. Their dispersion in the country has already been remarked, as a circumstance worthy of attention.\** There we gave it as a cause of their union. Here it meets us again, as the cause of their frequent disunion. But the guilt and ill consequences arise from the malevolent clamours of the capital, transmitted thence to the provinces. These clamours, though not of power to seduce an honest people into actual sedition, are yet often sufficient to alarm and divide them. And though every friend of liberty ought to grieve, if a free, an honest, and a sensible people should ever desist to debate on affairs of government: Much caution ought to be used by the inhabitants of the country, how they give credit to the political rumours of the town, which are seldom spread without design.

One mark of faction is peculiarly applicable to these clamours from the metropolis: If they are fraught with personal calumny, and attack private characters, they assuredly come from the enemies of virtue and freedom. Those calumnies, we mean, that are raised against the ministry; for as to the dissenting party, the factious and licentious, we ourselves have not scrupled to throw out calumnies upon them, because they have been found richly to deserve them.. All these, therefore, a sensible and honest people will learn to suspect and deride. This foundation once laid, that is,

\* See Sect. XIII. of the THOUGHTS.

when

when they have once learnt to mistrust their own senses, *they will not be far from a general union against the hidden designs of licentiousness and faction.\**

\* This eloquent and masterly conclusion, is not only admirably adapted to the purpose, but may serve likewise to refute those who pretend, that the Doctor possesses but a slight and superficial knowledge of the subjects he treats: For it is manifest from the whole address, and especially from the frequent and dextrous application of the epithets, "free, honest and sensible;" how well the WRITER understands not only the theory but the practice of politics, from the direction of the MANNERS and PRINCIPLES of a State, to cajoling the constituents at an election: And, when such an occasion shall call upon him to exert his various talents in the service of his country, or (what is all the same) of those who shall be then in power; it is to be hoped, that he will give the public his "THOUGHTS on free Elections," or explain to his country audience ("the people") from the pulpit, the "PRINCIPLES of Bribery and Corruption."

The END.